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January 10, 1949

STRATEGY and TACTICS of BOLSHEVISM

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When international politicians and observers of world affairs continue to consider contemporary Russia as any other state and expect her to act according to common ethical and moral laws, they commit an unpardonable political blunder. They seem to forget that the structure and life of the former Russian Empire was completely changed by the Bolshevik revolution and that a new state has been created on her ruins; one which was to become the fortress of the future Communist world revolution.

The country's psyche was decisively influenced by forced measures and by Communist propaganda based on a synthesis of the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. Those theories, pretending to liberate the working classes from the alleged chains of capitalism, created an entirely new morale which is clearly expressed in the strategy and tactics of the Soviet leaders.

In order to judge the strategy and tactics of the Soviet Government one must remember that the final aim of the Bolsheviks is world domination accomplished by Communist world revolution. When the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia in 1917, they regarded Russia only as a place d'armes to be used as an assault position for the expansion of the Communist revolution in other countries. In their opinion and according to the theory of Marx, those countries, in contrast to Russia, were already mature for the Bolshevik revolution because of their highly developed capitalism.

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For the purpose of world revolution, the Third International or Comintern was founded in Moscow in 1919. According to Lenin's opinion, the Comintern was supposed to be "the first stage for an international Soviet republic after the Communist victory all over the world." For the purpose of expediency in Soviet foreign policy the Comintern was dissolved during World War II. Its functions, however, were temporarily taken over by the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, and later they were conferred upon the newly created Cominform. ~~Handwritten scribbles and initials~~

After the accomplishment of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, it soon became evident that the Western proletarians were neither willing nor in a position to seize power in their respective countries. Therefore, the Moscow Bolsheviks changed their strategy and methods. They emphasized the development and improvement of their position in the Soviet Union and stressed the thesis proclaimed by Stalin that "socialism can well be established in only one country." But they did not forget their final aim. ~~Handwritten scribbles and initials~~

On the one hand, the Moscow Bolsheviks use reckless political methods; on the other hand, they very skilfully adapt their strategical and tactical measures to given opportunities. Thus they often succeeded in deceiving the world concerning their actual intentions.

There are numerous utterances of Lenin and Stalin about the Bolshevik strategy and tactics. It is necessary to know them because they disclose the theoretical side of the problem and because they have proved decisive for the actual policy of the Soviet Government up to the present time.

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The quotations below are excerpted from Stalin's pamphlet "On the principles of Leninism."

In the opinion of Stalin, the Bolshevik strategy includes the following stages:

- (a) The definition of the goal for the main operation of the proletariat for the given phase of the revolution.
- (b) The drafting of a corresponding plan for the organization of the revolutionary forces--main forces and reserves.
- (c) The struggle for the realization of this plan during the entire period of the given phase of the revolution.

Stalin defines tactics as follows: "The rules for the conduct of the proletariat during the relatively short period of the flood and low-tide of the fluctuating revolution. Tactics means the struggle for the realization of this plan by replacing old combat and organizational means by new, by substituting old rules by new, etc. For instance, when fighting Tsardom or the Bourgeois classes, the strategy intends to win the war. Tactics, however, deal with less important aims. Tactics are not meant to win the war but only to win particular battles, fights, campaigns or operations in accord with the actual situation within the given phase of the revolution. Tactics is part of strategy, inferior to it and serving it. Tactics change according to the tides."

In Stalin's opinion, the Communist revolution reached the third stage of its development after the revolution in 1917. It aims at "utilizing the

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consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in only one country as a base for the abolition of imperialism in all countries. When the revolution exceeds the borders of an individual country, the world revolution will have started. The main forces of the revolution are the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country and revolutionary movements of the proletariat in all other countries. The main reserves are the half-proletarianized masses of small peasants in highly developed countries and movements for liberation in colonies and dependent states. The main effort aims at the isolation of middle-class democracies and of the parties signatory to the Second International which collaborate with imperialism. The plan for the organization of forces is the alliance of the proletarian revolution with the liberation movement in colonies and dependent countries."

The aims and methods of the Moscow Bolsheviks can not be expressed more exactly than above. If any evidence were necessary to prove again that the Bolsheviks were and are still striving for world revolution, one has only to note that some ten thousand copies of the pamphlet by Stalin quoted above are now distributed all over the Soviet Zone of Germany (J. Stalin, "On the principles of Leninism," Berlin, Publishing House "Neuer Weg" Inc., 1946).

The theory of Lenin-Stalin serves as a beacon for all Communist parties in the world. The Soviet Encyclopedia reads: "The Comintern informed all Communist parties that it is absolutely necessary to adopt the Marxist-Leninist theories, to apply the corresponding tactics skilfully and with versatility according to the actual conditions in the country

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concerned and according to the development of the class war. The revolutionists must be able to change the methods and directives for the fight as quickly as possible according to circumstances. Only in this way will Communist parties secure the victory of the international proletarian world revolution."

Thus, the strategy and tactics of the proletariat were made a Bolshevik science for waging the class war aimed at replacing the universal forms of social life by the Bolshevik system. In this way world domination will be secured for the Soviet Union. Under the motto "The end justifies the means," Bolshevik strategy and tactics are put into effect.

There cannot now be many experienced Bolsheviks or fanatics in Russia who consider the Communist system as the salvation of mankind. The methods of the leading Soviet politicians are rather dictated by instincts of self-preservation and ambition for conquest. These politicians act according to the principle that all things are allowed, are even imperative, if they are useful for the proletarian revolution and dictatorship, if they maintain Bolshevism and eventually support it in gaining world domination.

Twenty-five years ago, there were men in Russia who believed idealistically in the theory of Marx and Engels. All of them fell as victims in Stalin's fight for supremacy. Stalin instigated that struggle after Lenin's death and carried it through until he achieved unlimited power. The dictator himself, "the father of the peoples," "the greatest of all strategists," "the genius of science," considers the ideas of

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world revolution and the Bolshevik system only as specific means toward achieving world domination. He uses the old Communist slogans to deceive the masses about his actual aims.

At present the Communist party of the Soviet Union is like an army of soldiers who pivot with implicit obedience at each hint from their commander. Freedom of speech, press, and association are mere myths. The workers were promised in bombastic slogans that "the exploitation of men by men" would be abolished. Instead, they have been degraded to slaves without free will who serve a state authority. This authority ties the laborers to their ordered jobs with all possible efficiency. The peasants, as members of collective farms, live the life of expropriated farmhands.

On the one hand, illusory Communist slogans and promises attract post-war Europe, in its misery, disproportionately. On the other hand, a system of pressure and force has effectively been employed in the satellite states and in the Soviet zones of Germany and Austria. That system extinguishes systematically and recklessly any resistance. It cares neither about victims nor international public censure, the latter more particularly as it is vitiated in diplomatic notes and pretexts.

To understand the present strategy and tactics of the Bolsheviks it is necessary to know the methods which they have applied since their seizure of power. The events following the revolution in 1917 are characteristic of Bolshevik procedure and the Bolshevik conception of democracy. One example is the enforced dissolution of the All-Russian Constitutional Assembly on January 5, 1918.

After the abdication of the Tsar, the preliminary democratic government

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established in March 1917 resolved to call an All-Russian Constitutional Assembly in accordance with common, equal, direct, and secret elections. The leaders of the Bolshevik minority used provocative arguments and accused the preliminary government of delaying the elections. The Bolsheviks promised to call in the Constitutional Assembly immediately themselves if they were to assume power. Utilizing the inner weakness and irresoluteness of the preliminary government, the Bolsheviks seized power. But they did not succeed in influencing the elections to the Constitutional Assembly according to their own wishes. The Social Revolutionaries (peasant party) obtained the majority. In the opening session, a demagogic motion of the Bolsheviks was refused. After that the Bolsheviks left the assembly hall and dissolved the Assembly by armed force. In order to justify their actions, they asserted that the Constitutional Assembly had opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat and had thus proved itself a bulwark of counter-revolution. The members of the Social Revolutionary Party, accused as the alleged representatives of counter-revolutionary tendencies, were arrested and eliminated. More recent events in the satellite states of the Soviet Union widely correspond to the actions described above.

In December 1917, the so-called "Extraordinary Commission against Counter-revolution, Sabotage, and Speculation," the ill-famed CHEKA, was founded for the "protection of the dictatorship of the proletariat" in Russia. Its terror is known in history. In 1922, the CHEKA was replaced by the OGPU (Centralized Public Political Administration). Later the OGPU was replaced by the NKVD (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs). This renaming, however, did not change the methods of terrorism. In 1946, the NKVD was replaced by the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs). In common with the MGB (Ministry of State Security) it accomplishes missions formerly carried out by the NKVD.

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of the Bolshevik tactics is the history of NEP (New Economic Policy) which was proclaimed by Lenin in 1921. This new policy saved Russia from economic collapse by the temporary abandonment of most important ideological principles, e.g., by partial admission of private enterprises. In 1928 the Soviet government believed it had reached at its goal. The persons involved in the NEP were defamed, expropriated, arrested, and finally exterminated as "pernicious persons," "enemies of the people," etc. So far, the international public believed that the NEP signaled the beginning of an evolution of the Soviet Union toward democracy. This conception was thoroughly destroyed. The NEP proved what it was intended to be, a temporary tactical measure to overcome a critical stage. When the result was achieved the NEP was abolished on the basis of former Communist doctrine.

When Stalin was fighting Trotsky for the seizure of power, he knew how to defend his opponent. He stigmatized Trotsky's theories concerning the socialization of agriculture and super-industrialization. After his victory over Trotsky, however, Stalin adopted those theories himself.

Numerous examples of Bolshevik tactics were disclosed in the operation of the first Five-year Plan (1928-1932), which was carried out during the beginning of the process of industrialization and collectivization. At that time the same methods were used which have since been characteristic of the foreign policy of the Soviet Government. When the Soviet Government greatly desires particular achievements, it advances as far as possible. If it meets dangerous or unsurmountable resistance, it withdraws in due time while those aims are apparently unobtainable. For instance, Stalin himself issued his famous proclamation "Drive because of successes" when forced

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collectivization caused a catastrophic decrease in agricultural production and threatened to undermine the foundations of the state. In this proclamation, Stalin blamed his functionaries for the failure and ordered the cancellation of the disastrous measures, although he himself had decreed them. When the crisis seemed to have passed, the previous course was followed as recklessly as before. All private farms were again collectivized by force.

The measures which the Soviet Government took during World War II provide numerous examples of the tactics used to influence or deceive the public at home and abroad. Such measures, for instance, were the concessions toward the church, the officers' corps, and Russian nationalism, and the dissolution of the Comintern.

One of the most effective of Soviet tactics used abroad is the instigation of domestic riots and controversies by the "direct and indirect reserves of the proletarian revolution." Concerning this matter, the political dictionary of 1940 reads as follows: "The reserves of the proletarian revolution are those forces which can and must be utilized by the proletarian revolution. Direct reserves are ... the proletarians of adjacent countries and the revolutionary movements in colonial and semi-colonial countries. Indirect reserves are ... controversies, conflicts, and wars between the imperialistic states."

The evident and actual implementations of the successful strategy and tactics of the Soviet government are the treaties with Hitler, the division of Poland, the annexation of the Baltic states, and the final extension of the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union up to the Stalin-private line. Thus, the Soviet government has obtained its strategic positions for World War III. Today it commands reserves amounting to approximately 211

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